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# THE RACIAL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE<sup>1</sup>

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## The Three Races of Europe

The idea of the three European races, Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean, which Ripley has done so much to expound, has received very general assent. The Nordic and Mediterranean probably represent divergent accumulations of characters among mixtures of the ancient long-headed stocks discussed by the students of primeval man. The Alpine stock, on the other hand, represents a westward spread through the mountain zone of Europe, and, as mountain countries inevitably tend to export population, it has spread downhill and has met and sometimes pushed back, sometimes fused with, the long-headed stocks on the flanks of its home.

### MEDITERRANEAN

The dark, rather short, long-headed Mediterranean is characteristic of the coast lands of the western part of the Midland Sea, but it has representatives in the southern Aegean and it may have immigrated into Greek coastal valleys from the Bronze Age onwards. In this region it has had age-long relations with Africa, and the climate has been warming on the whole since the end of the Ice Age. From this region, again, it spread up northward, probably as the ice retreated, mainly through western France. The Rhone valley, heavily forested as soon as the climate permitted, was difficult; the Carcassonne gap, with a good deal of limestone near by, remained more open. In this way, with northward movement, the type reached Britain, probably before it had its Mediterranean characteristics very fully developed.

### NORDIC

The tall, strong-boned Nordic, with his fair hair and blue eyes, probably represents a type evolved in the region north of the great Eurasian mountain zone, where, in early human times, it would appear that tundra gave

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<sup>1</sup> For the detailed evidence on which rest the chief conclusions of this article, see the following papers:

- (1) H. J. Fleure and W. E. Whitehouse: Early Distribution and Valleyward Movement of Population in South Britain, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th Ser., Vol. 16, 1916, pp. 101-140; with bibliogr.
- (2) H. J. Fleure and T. C. James: Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales, *Journ. Royal Anthropol. Inst. of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 46, 1916, pp. 35-153.
- (3) H. J. Fleure: Ancient Wales: Anthropological Evidences, *Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymrodorion*, Session 1915-16, pp. 75-164; with bibliogr.

For a general discussion of the questions of British ethnology treated in this paper see:

Arthur Keith: *The Antiquity of Man*, London, 1915.

T. Rice Holmes: *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, Oxford, 1907.

J. Déchelette: *Manuel d'Archéologie*, Paris, 1912-14.

G. Dottin: *Manuel Celtique*, 2nd edit., Paris, 1915.

place to cold steppe and forest, the last on the whole replacing the others as the ages passed. In Britain we have, as it were, an overlap of the provinces of these two races, and it is probable that we are best advised in speaking of an important element of the British population as neither Nordic nor Mediterranean in the full sense, but as a survival of old long-headed types remaining incompletely differentiated into one or the other but influenced by later immigrants of both these stocks.

#### ALPINE

The thickset, broad-headed Alpine race (Alpine-Armenoid might be more correct) occupies the mountain zone, and we may distinguish broadly a Pyrenean-Cevenole Alpine variety, a Slavonic variety (especially North Slavonic) with less dark coloring, and an Illyrian and Anatolian variety with the height of the head much accentuated.

### Intermediate Types

#### NORTHEASTERN

On the south, the mountain zone, e. g. in Italy, grades somewhat abruptly into the coastal country where Mediterranean man is at home, but on the north the mountains are flanked by broken highlands in the intricate and long-forested river basins of which Alpine man has for centuries been busy making clearings. In this region he has mixed with the Nordic while on the whole pushing him back, as the farmer does the backwoodsman. Here therefore have arisen mixed or graded types. These intermediate types combine something of the breadth of head of the central or mountain type with a great deal of the fair coloring and strength and length of bone of the Nordic. Of special importance for Britain are certain people traced as a wave of migrants from western Russia, perhaps the province of Kiev, south of the Pinsk marshes, along the European plain to Britain in the days heralding the Bronze Age. These people are traced by their beaker pottery and are thence often called for convenience the Beaker men. They seem to have been tall, broad-headed, strong-browed, and rough-boned; and it is quite likely that the type arose as an intermediate through intimate contact of small groups of broad-heads beginning to make, and to settle in, forest clearings and ultimately mingling with Nordic forest wanderers.

#### NORTHWESTERN

The above is the most characteristic of the intermediate types on the northeast of the mountain zone. Other types of intermediate character seem to have arisen in the tangle of hills and valleys to the northwest of the mountain zone. They are mostly big men with strong bones, having broad heads from their mountain ancestors and long faces with strong chins from their forest kin. Many of them seem to be red. Among these mixed

types we include the traditional Flemings, the type "Lorrain" and the Kymris of French authors, the Belgae and the red Caledonians of Latin authors, the typical "Anglo-Saxon" of some writers, and many more. They are specially related to the movements of men with leaf-shaped swords—the movements of the western early Iron Age and of post-Roman times. Perhaps it would be best to describe the Slavonic peoples as the corresponding mixed types on the northeast flanking of the European mountain zone, at any rate from the Iron Age onwards. As there is some ground for associating the root language of Slavonic with the northeastern mixture, we are not surprised to learn from linguistic students that these two root languages are akin and probably represent divergences from a common origin.

#### SOUTHERN

On the southern flank of the mountain zone the broad-heads have spread downhill towards the Mediterranean but in some parts have come down as a solid block and have made contact with a solid block of the older long-headed type, with its very different traditions. Such conditions do not favor the rise of an intermediate type, as does the intimate mixture resulting from more intimate fractionated contact. There is, however, an intermediate type, Mediterranean, with an Alpine jaw.

There is ground for thinking that, on the Aegean coast, with mountain valleys and islets closely linked, an intermediate type has arisen with broad head, dark coloring, and stalwart build, like the Illyrian mountaineer but without his peculiar height of head and with several small hints of kinship at the same time to the Mediterranean race. This intermediate type may have played a part in the life of western Europe for some thousands of years, mainly owing to its activity in the old coastwise navigation and the development of fisheries and of seamanship thence resulting. We note its importance on those parts of the British coast which are interested in Iceland fisheries. It would be a great thing for western Europe if the old coastwise life, helped by intensive cultivation near the warm water, could be revived. It would renew the social health of many coast towns; it would provide recruits for fisheries and mercantile marines, as well as war navies; and it would give this interesting type its much-needed opportunities to make its best contribution to humanity.

#### Moorlands in Britain

##### EARLY LIFE

Had we been able to visit Britain, let us say, when it had recovered from the Ice Age we should have found it a forest-clad peninsula, in the main, probably still linked to Europe by a low isthmus in the region of the present Straits of Dover. Certain parts of it, whether because of the porous soil or rock or because of their exposure to the sea winds, would have been bare,

and man, armed only with stone tools, would have been restricted almost entirely to these bare patches. How could he fight the damp forest till he had metal with which to cut down its trees? Then, too, the forest and swamp were the haunts of wild beasts—cattle will still run, they say, if one



FIG. 1—Sketch map showing the habitable area of southern Britain in Neolithic time. Scale, 1:4,700,000. Redrawn from a map facing p. 83 of paper (3), cited in footnote 1. The first, slightly different version of this tentative map, based in part on the work of W. Boyd Dawkins, accompanied paper (1). Several small modifications have since been suggested in a note entitled "A Map of Primitive Britain," *Geogr. Teacher*, Summer, 1917, number, pp. 85-87.

attempts a wolf howl in their vicinity—and we find that the wild boar was the emblem of death in some Celtic traditions; both facts are significant of the terrors of the dark woodland. Add to this again the ague that probably haunted the swamps in those days, and we have sufficient reason for thinking of those who came into Britain after the Ice Age as, in the main,

moorland dwellers. Now we have on the moorlands of Britain almost everywhere the works and memorials of our forefathers, though we have been taught too often to look upon them as the remains of a vanished race, and it is interesting to try to glimpse a little of the life of those days, if only to see what it has bequeathed to us.

#### MOORLAND AREAS

The most important of the moorlands of South Britain was undoubtedly the Downs country, where the round hills stand bare both because of exposure and because trees will not grow naturally on the porous chalk unless it be covered with other material. The Downs country was important because it afforded a great extent of pasturage, because it permitted travel from pasture to pasture along its even ridges, and most of all because it contained rich supplies of flints for weapons and tools.

In the Chilterns and in East Anglia the chalk was much covered by forested boulder clay, that is, by débris left after the retreat of glaciers. The chalk is thus exposed chiefly in the valleys, and it is in them rather than on the heights that we find traces of our Stone Age ancestors.

From the Western Downs there were open hill lines leading along the Blackdown Hills to the moorlands of Devon and Cornwall, along the Mendips to the coast, and so across to Barry and South Wales, over what may have been a sand-dune country, but is now the Bristol Channel, and along the Cotswolds to the Northampton Heights. None of them had any wealth of flints, but the far west had stone which men learned to grind into axe heads, and thus the west country became a famous Stone Age center. The Midlands were then, as ever, "sodden and unkind," but there were more open patches on the Chases round about Birmingham and also small ones in Leicestershire. The southern Pennines were an important open space, but farther north the habitable zone was restricted because so much of the country was very high and rocky. The Lincolnshire Hills, the Yorkshire Wolds, and the North York Moors to a lesser extent were habitable. These English areas were sharply divided from Wales by the great forest-and-swamp barriers of Dee and Severn. In Wales some coastal moorlands had a comparatively delectable climate, and there was some flint to be got on the beaches; the open country inland was for the most part very high and bleak. Of coastal moorlands, one notices especially the sunward slopes of the hilltop expanses of Glamorgan, full of traces of early man, moorlands isolated by great forests from the Cotswolds and, later on, by sea from the Mendips. It is an area of ancient isolation, where the Silures maintained themselves so long against the Romans, and where persists a certain type of tradition—an intractability that contributes not a little to the troublesome misfit of the South Wales coalfield in a social polity evolved largely on the English plain.

## DESCENDANTS OF NEOLITHIC BRITONS

It is in the valleys around these ancient open spaces that we still find the descendants of the Neolithic people. The population has left the moorland to its sacred memories; it is the hallowed land of All Souls, and its whilom shepherds are now in great part industrialized in the slum lines along the valleys around the Pennines and in South Wales. On the English plain the old population is generally found nowadays on the bad lands, whether it be on Romney Marsh, or in the poor parts of the fens, or on the sandy heath and woodland patches, as, for example, between Salisbury and the New Forest.

These descendants of the Neolithic folk are the long-headed, long-faced, dark-haired, brown-eyed people that form so strong an element of the population of big English cities. They seem better able than all other types to withstand slum conditions, so that in the second generation of great-city life they have arisen in their millions to form once more, after many days, almost a majority, perhaps, of the population of South Britain. That they have begun to oust the typical John Bull in the Continental descriptions of the Englishman tells an important tale, and we appreciate the fact that it must be extremely difficult to displace a population which is attached to the land. The physique of the early British population, perhaps improved by better food, is thus abundantly amongst us at the present day, but that is not all; ever so many details of our life owe their character to that far-off period.

## ORIGIN OF MAY DAY AND ALL SOULS

It was difficult work observing the sun and stars in a cloudy land like Britain, and perhaps astronomical observations came into importance later on when trade with sunnier climes began, towards the end of the Stone Age. But spring and autumn have glorious associations in nature in Britain, and must have been a pageantry of paradise in those ancient times. The woodland was largely oak and birch and ash, with alder in swampy places, and pine also here and there; but along the upper edge of the woodland, festooning the rocky knolls, must have flourished the thorns and the gorse bushes, with fern on the moorland above.

In the middle of May the new leaves of the forest would be a sea of green, fringed above with a white and foaming crown of thorns in bloom, while the gorse would flame the hillsides with its scented gold. Spring in Britain is still one of the wonders of the world, but its glories when history was young and the land was still untamed must have been almost more than poets have conceived. Likewise autumn, with its red russet of the bracken and its many-tinted leaf browns, reached its short but wonderful zenith towards the middle of November. These two glories marked the great festivals of May Day and All Souls, and if the change of eleven days in the eighteenth century confused the issue a little, there is still enough of the

old tradition left for us to guess its former importance. In western Wales the houses are let and the farm servants hired about November 12, the old festival of All Saints. Even in England in 1915, in spite of war and poverty, it was necessary to issue regulations against fireworks on November 5, the decayed celebration, not so much of the Gunpowder Plot fiasco, as of the burning of the old year.

#### OTHER INHERITANCES

Old earthworks on the moorland give their names to the hundreds and other administrative divisions here and there. Boundaries of counties still run along the courses of rivers, though these are no longer uninhabited tracts between the populated moorlands. Indeed, now that the people have congregated about bridgeheads, these old boundary lines are a positive nuisance and defeat attempts at good administration in all sorts of ways. Thus is our life sown with heritages from a moorland past.

The moorland life probably lasted on through the Bronze Age and into the Iron Age. Indeed it is probable that, as on the Continent, it was the post-Roman centuries which witnessed the most definite downhill movement, settlement becoming general with the clearing of the forested lowlands.

#### Invasions in the Bronze Age

##### TWO NEW ELEMENTS

When the knowledge of bronze came to dominate social organization in the eastern Mediterranean, prospectors seem to have scattered about looking for copper and perhaps for gold, and so coastwise trade and movement began in the third millennium before Christ. Evidence is accumulating to show that this eastern Mediterranean was also spasmodically influenced by pressure from the grasslands and consequent crises and movements which must have added to the coastwise changes just mentioned. One of these crises seems to have ended the old kingdom of Egypt and to have continued during the interregnum before the Middle Kingdom was established. According to most chronologists this period of trouble would be about 2500-2200 B. C. Another aspect of the same trouble destroyed Hissarlik II about 2300 B. C. There is thus some evidence of general unrest in the Bronze civilization of the eastern Mediterranean and in the life of eastern Europe generally towards the end of the third millennium before our era. Now, at some time before the introduction of bronze into the west of Europe we get evidence of movement or trade, and then bronze came in, probably by way of western Gaul to Britain, while at much the same time the Beaker people (discussed above in general terms) arrived, apparently without bronze, on the eastern coasts of Britain from Kent probably right up to Caithness sooner or later, though the more northerly immigrants were almost purely Alpine in type.



From the close correspondences between dolmens and other megaliths, dark, broad-headed men and ancient sources of copper and tin, we may say that these men from the eastern Mediterranean were the carriers of the

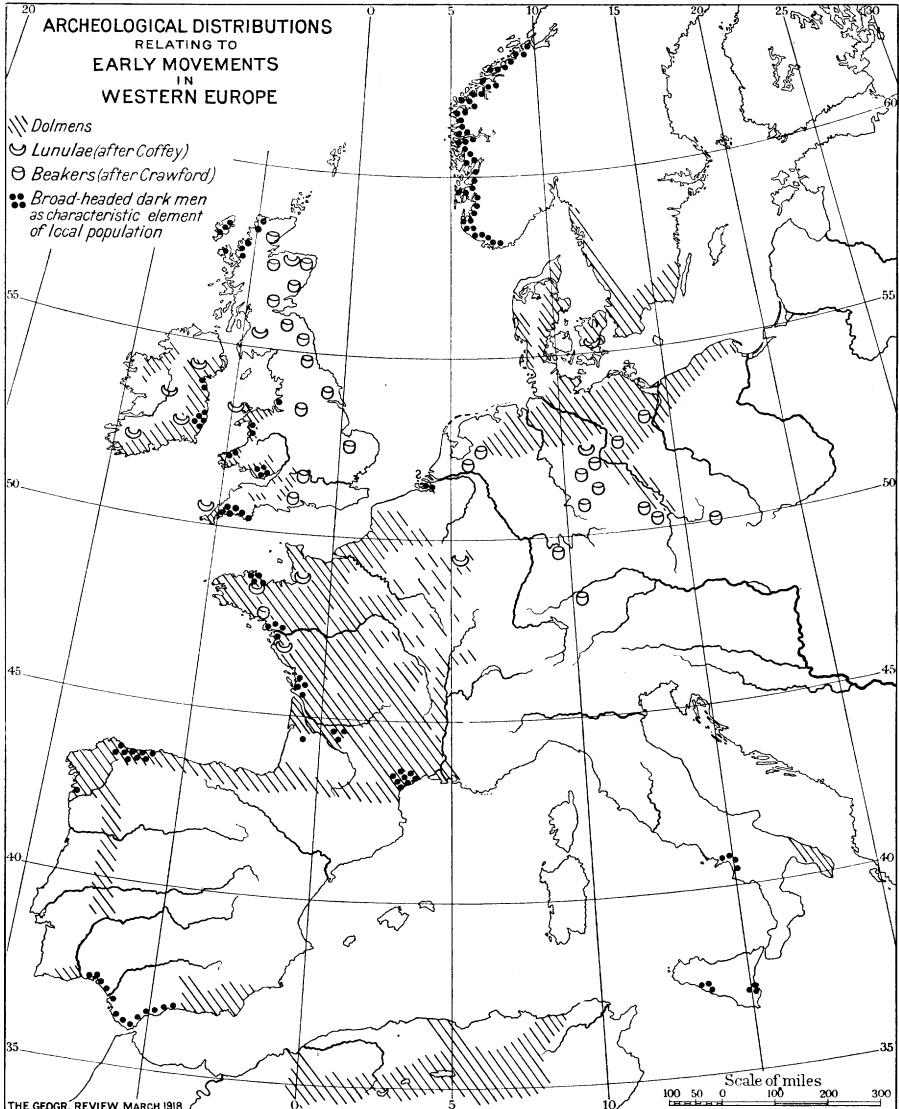


FIG. 2—Sketch map showing certain archeological and anthropological distributions relating to early movements in western Europe. 1:22,500,000. Redrawn, with modifications by the author, from a map facing p. 97 of paper (3), cited in footnote 1.

Bronze civilization, and that they met in Britain the Beaker people who had come across the North Sea from the European plain. The “Beakers” are characteristic of eastern Britain, though they spread west along the

Downs and from the Humber to the Peak at any rate, both lines with opportunities of movement above the lowland forests. Beakers are characteristically absent from Cornwall, where the megalithic, mining, dark, broad-headed life, if these may be associated, was particularly strong.

In this way, two new elements, both broad-headed, were added to the British population. Stalwart dark men spread along western Britain and in Ireland, while the great rough-boned Beaker people, called by most writers until quite recently the Bronze Age invaders, reached the east coast. These invaders were followed by other broad-heads of Alpine type.

#### INTRODUCTION OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGES

From the eastern Mediterranean we know that the periods 1750-1500 B. C. and 1250-1150 B. C. were periods of disturbance spreading from the grasslands in the first case and perhaps from mountain forests in the second, and there can be little doubt that the movements towards Britain continued. The traders' search for metal went on in the interval, and routes from the Euxine and the Adriatic to the Baltic were opened up as well as routes beyond the Pillars of Hercules and northward across western Gaul.

Ireland, with its gold of the Wicklow Mountains, became a goal of the treasure-seekers, and we may think of both Beaker men and dark broad-heads as struggling to reach it. A very few beakers have been found in northwestern Ireland, and the spiral ornament introduced in the Bronze Age from the Baltic occurs at various spots in the northern half of Ireland, while gold ornaments undoubtedly from Ireland occur *inter alia* in north-eastern Scotland. It is thus likely that one way by which Beaker men, perhaps including the legendary Tuatha De Danann, reached Ireland was via northern Scotland during the Bronze Age. Now northern Scotland, the Hebrides, western Scotland, Man, and Ireland are the province of the Gaelic languages, and it is at least possible that they were introduced along this route. This possibility is enhanced when we remember that the Beaker type is also highly characteristic among the Julian gens and other patrician Romans, and that early Italic is looked upon as an offshoot of the root form of the Gaelic languages. In other words we have more than a possibility of a dispersal during the second millennium before our era from the western Russian plain bringing Gaelic to the far west and the beginnings of Latin to Italy. We doubt whether the first Beaker men, those who invaded eastern Britain about 1900 B. C., used Gaelic; more probably a later phase of the movement brought this still surviving element of our life.

#### EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGES

One may perhaps be permitted to let the imagination roam a little as regards evolution of languages. Starting from the widely accepted idea that the Aryan family of languages arose on, or perhaps around, the great

steppe, we may suppose that the relatively wide currency of a language in such circumstances would steady it and shear off its eccentricities. Thus it would have an advantage over forest dialects spoken differently perhaps in almost every village. If this be so, then in the period following pressure of grassland folk through the parklands into the forest (such as perhaps the period following 2500-2200 B. C.) there might well be an infiltration of the language of the steppe border gradually supplanting forest dialects on its way. This may help us to understand the Gaelic-Italic spread, with Lithuanian perhaps as evidence of a still earlier spread. If so, we may argue one step further and think of the people of the northern Alpine flank learning this Gaelic-Italic root language and modifying it into the Brythonic-Slavonic root language, becoming Brythonic in the northwest and Slavonic in the northeast.

#### ANCIENT ROUTES THROUGH BRITAIN TO IRELAND

The Beaker type persists in some numbers among the professional classes in Britain and in the general population of the Tyne Gap and the Cumbrian dales and of Merionethshire, both places most probably connected with old ways to Ireland. The way across from the Northumberland to the Cumberland coast is evident enough, and it is a district influenced by megalithic culture of a sort and possessing also instances of the prehistoric spiral ornament. Merionethshire can never have had much thick forest. Men seeking a way westward from the Humber and the Fens to the Peak could come westward to Chester and the Wirral, or southward and then westward via the Chase country and the Longmynd, and so reach the Welsh Hills. An old paved way, called the Roman Steps, leads through the Rhinog Mountains of Merionethshire, and at its western end we are in a typical west-coast megalithic country, evidently in touch with Ireland, as gold and the spiral both indicate. It may therefore be that this was one route along which the two new elements of British life came into contact.

#### DOLMENS

Of the metal workers and seekers from the south we think it possible to surmise that, while in earlier times they prospected somewhat generally, as time went on they went more and more directly to and from the west, Spanish Galicia, Armorica, Cornwall, Wales, and especially Ireland. These are the dolmen lands *par excellence*, and the various types of monuments need to be studied by survey, with the thought in mind that they may be not so much links in a chronological sequence as works of different groups of men. It seems possible that these monuments are mainly at ports of call along the trade routes or on cross-peninsular ways which shortened sea voyages without introducing too many difficulties of travel on land through forests. The increasing directness of travel to Ireland seems indicated by some elaborate Cyclopean monuments supposed to belong to a late

phase of the Bronze Age. They are not generally distributed but occur on the Spanish coasts and in eastern Ireland (New Grange, e. g.), as also in the Orkneys and Caithness, and, in quite another direction, in southern Russia. They are allied to the Tholos tombs of the Greek mainland. It should, however, be remembered that probably the movements of megalith builders began even before the spread of bronze to the west.

#### STONE CIRCLES

Another type of monument in Britain has an extraordinary interest; it is the great stone circle exemplified at Avebury, Stonehenge, and in the Hebrides and Orkneys, with lesser circles along the western side of Britain in many places. The complete type occurs elsewhere only in the region between Tripoli and the Gulf of the Syrtis and affords evidence of former links with that far-off country, evidence which is strengthened by the finding of segmented beads of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty in a tumulus in Wiltshire. There is also much evidence in Bronze Age finds of links between western Britain and Armorica. All this more than hints that there is at least a foundation of fact in our British and Irish legendary histories which, like those of the other western nations, claim that some of the British tribes came from the Aegean and included refugees from Troy. The legendary histories, no doubt based on folk tradition, have in all probability fused together a number of distinct movements so that the tangle is a difficult one, but the Tuatha De Danann, the Milesians, the Scots, Brut the Trojan, Lear, Corinius, all probably have some historical foundation. It is one of the tasks of archeologists and anthropologists in years to come to see what can be reconstructed concerning this evidently interesting phase of our country's early history. Coffey and the Irish Museum have given a good lead in this direction by cherishing and studying the fine gold ornaments in which Ireland was then so rich. It is interesting that our legendary histories, especially Geoffrey of Monmouth, who has elements not hitherto found elsewhere, not only speak of these Aegean wanderers, not only tell us in poetic phrase about the Stonehenge monument (type) having come from the "uttermost parts of Africa," not only tell us of the coming of the sword (*Excalibur*?), but also refer to the conflicts which took place in Britain between these southern folk and certain Huns from Scythia, who might be the Beaker people or people who followed them across the North Sea.

#### STONEHENGE

Stonehenge is near the great road center of early times, and its erection and elaboration, probably about 1700-1300 B. C., show that this center had already begun to have that durable primacy as the place where contributions to British life from east and west met and fought and fused. It may have been so in the Bronze Age; it almost certainly was so in Anglo-Saxon

times, and Arthur and Alfred are linked heroes of the great struggles around this center of tradition and sanctity. The primacy of this district departed as the growth of the wool export trade made the position of East Anglia so important, but the Wiltshire Downs country remained of the greatest consequence until the rise of modern industrialism. It is interesting that this is only one among many examples of primacy of regions where many traditions have met and ultimately fused. The Paris Basin is the classical instance in western Europe, but the Aegean itself is another case in point, and all illustrate the importance of the mingling of peoples as against the notion of the super-race protected from contamination. It seems certain that during the Bronze Age a number of immigrations and invasions of Britain occurred and, quite probably, Britain felt once more a double pressure in the general convulsions round about 1200-1100 B. C. It is probable that some of the migrants mentioned in Irish and other legendary history were refugees from old Mycenaean communities of that time, destroyed by the coming of the leaf-shaped sword people. These latter spreading out, Peake thinks, from the too wet forests of the mountains of central Europe, reached Scandinavia and Britain as well as the Aegean, and probably the clash was felt in Britain, as elsewhere. The legendary histories, at any rate, are full of evidences of war and all forms of trouble between southwestern England and the country from the Humber to Caithness, i. e. between the country in first contact with the coastwise route from the Mediterranean and the country in first contact with Scandinavia and the Low Countries.

We should probably imagine a succession of immigrants, traders, and invaders coming to Britain in the Bronze Age from both directions—from the Mediterranean basin and from the European plain. The amount of intercourse may have been quite considerable, and there may have been practically a circular route around Europe, for the European plain came into relations with the Mediterranean across what has since become Russia and Poland.

### Iron Age Movements

#### THE BELGAE

There is some evidence to show that the last part of the Bronze Age witnessed a good deal of forest cutting, and with the advent of iron in eastern and southeastern Britain (about 450 B. C. perhaps) the country seems to have entered into relation with eastern and northeastern Gaul, say with the later Burgundy. It is quite possible that the first introduction of iron did not mean an invasion, but that the great inroad took place much later and was the coming of the Belgae to southern England. Whether the Brythonic-Celtic language came with the Belgae, or with iron, or before, we cannot say but we suspect that it is not very much older than the Belgae, and they came from near the region which may possibly have been responsible for early stages of its differentiation. Probably the Belgae

were men of strong build with fair hair and rather broad heads. The type would not be very unlike that of the Anglo-Saxons of centuries later, and we thus have a difficulty in deciding what is "Briton" and what "Anglo-Saxon" in the population of eastern Britain.

It is probable that the west resisted these Brythonic or Belgic invaders whether it was already partly Brythonized or not. The Bronze Age civilization seems to have lived on for a long time in western Britain and in Ireland, and the clash between that older life on the moorlands and the iron-using people, apparently beginning to live in the valleys, is an abundant source of realistic Welsh folk tale. The evidences also of the finds of the earliest Iron Age (e. g. at Hengistbury and Glastonbury) are all for connections at that time with southwestern France and Armorica, not with northeastern Gaul. The contrasts in civilization between these western sites and such more easterly ones as Silchester and Aylesford seems very marked.

It is well to remember that the Brythonic or Belgic period was one of artistic achievement, as witnessed by the ornamental shields and many other objects exhibited in the British Museum. The Britons were no mere wild men of the woods.

#### THE ROMANS

Now the Romans enter upon the scene, and the taming of the lowlands is pushed forward by road building and the founding of cities. But though the English plain entered upon a period of city life and Roman culture, the far west, when touched, seems to have remained in a state of military occupation, while Ireland was not touched at all. Hereby came into being some of the distinctions which were going to set the different components of the British population apart for future ages.

The English plain began to learn Roman speech and Roman ways, and its older language became merely a dialect of kitchens and farmyards. The west had received, no doubt, an influx of the more warlike spirits from farther east and had had abundant cause to maintain its speech with pride, as a mark of its fidelity to its origins. At the same time, the language would be modified and much enriched by contact and exchange with the Roman soldiers and officials at the markets outside the camps, as well as along the lines of communication in Wales. Ireland was not touched by the Romans.

#### THE ANGLO-SAXONS

Before the Romans left, the population of the plains had been weakened, it is said, by the slaughter of many young men who followed the adventure of Maxen Wledig. When they did depart, and the Anglo-Saxons and other Germanic-tongued peoples arrived on the scene, the wonder is, not that they met with so little resistance, but that they met with so much. Gomme upholds the view that the invaders left London aside as beyond their

strength, and that theory, while far from established, at least avoids the old difficulty of understanding how London could have been an empty ruin for years and how it could have come about that London has such a characteristic and almost Roman tradition of its own. Behind London, the old stocks seem to have held out in the Chiltern Hundreds, and the memory of their special position persists in parliamentary procedure to this day. Their inhabitants still include a large number of the Mediterranean stock, and it is claimed that they have been distinct in many other respects, a district near by not needing Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth century because it did not then possess agricultural villages with communal cultivation. We shall perhaps not be far wrong if we tentatively connect such villages especially with the Belgic and Anglo-Saxon immigrants from the forest clearings of northwestern Europe.

The Anglo-Saxons spread their dominion along many river valleys and taught their language to the conquered folk, a de-Celticized peasantry whose leaders were dead or had fled. Of the coming of Dane and Norseman it is unnecessary to speak, save that one may point out the opposition of moorland and estuary. The British kingdom on the Pennine slopes and the Northumbrian Deira in the estuarine section of the Ouse, up to York or thereabouts, maintained a long struggle. There were also other cases of maintenance of the two traditions side by side. There is evidence that the British held the plain of Avebury for a century or more after Saxons had held the Vale of Pewsey.

#### THE WELSH PEOPLE

The far west, namely Wales and Damnonia, was long free from land invaders in any force, but it was open to sea rovers, just as was eastern Ireland. They found strong footholds here and there, as in Pembrokeshire and on the Liffey, but in several estuaries of Wales they seem to have had scant opportunity, and though one finds people who would seem to be their descendants along the coast, these people have become fused into the Welsh population. The old language, invigorated probably by its brusque contact with Latin, has persisted, and a tradition has grown up around it and around the generally successful resistance to the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The result is that descendants of Stone Age inhabitants of valleys off the moorlands, broad-headed folk who may be related to the ancient beaker-makers, and others who are probably coastal wanderers of the Bronze Age, besides sea rovers, and probably Flemish artisans, not to mention Huguenot weavers, have more or less fused into a Welsh people, proud of its language and of its tradition, much older in part than the language.

#### SOUTHERN BRITONS

A mixture of much the same elements, save the coastal wanderers of the Bronze Age who occur only in the west so far as is known, learned the

Teutonic speech of the post-Roman invaders of the English plain. Later on it absorbed its Norman conquerors and with them a large dose of Franco-Norman civilization and it developed a tradition around its partly Teutonic language. It was much altered by Roman influence and its people largely molded by Gallic civilization, but this much-mixed tradition is that which binds the English people together.

#### PERSISTENCE OF ANCIENT TYPES

In both groups the Mediterranean or, at any rate, the ancient long-headed stock or stocks are the broad foundation; in Wales, at any rate, they make their large contribution to the churches, to the poet's art, and to medicine; while in England, where disastrous events have destroyed the germs of peasant culture, they seem to become too largely the people of the slums. The type of the southern Bronze Age wanderers persists among western fisher-farmers, among the real fishing population, and thence emerges among ship owners, business organizers, and in the country's leaders. The type of the John Bull yeoman was a thickset variety of the Beaker people; with the decay of rural life and the growth of industrialism he has become rather rare, but traces of the Beaker people's type are widespread among the professional classes and the intellectual leaders. The Nordic type is an important constituent of the landed aristocracy and cannot live long under poor conditions in large towns. Its mighty influence seems to have contributed much to the prevalence of the country house and hunting life of rural England and thus to the retrogression of cultivation, which is such a serious fact at present. Yet with all this it is also a potent influence towards new ideas and new ventures; it is prominent in new "causes" and in the backwoods of the new lands. Indeed, with the progressive industrialization of Britain it was streaming away to the Far West and the Far South year after year. How to maintain it as a valuable factor of the nation's life, without at the same time exterminating the John Bull type or making life a burden for the still older elements of the people, is the anthropological setting of the internal polity of the English plain.

#### THE CELTIC TRADITION

How to maintain in mutual respect the two main traditions above sketched out, the English and the Welsh, is another problem prominent enough till the war began. That the Welsh tradition is poorer for its necessary stress on resistance is but too true. When the English tradition is ignorant in its contempt of the Welsh one, that is less excusable. The study of anthropology and of antiquities emphasizes the continuity of British tradition throughout, in spite of Normans, Anglo-Saxons, Romans, Brythons, and what not. It suggests that instead of looking upon the Celtic tradition as the poor keepsake of a conquered people, all but exterminated by the



Anglo-Saxon conquerors, we might with more truth look upon it as an heirloom, a precious ancient phase of our own tradition, to lose which would be to impoverish the British peoples forever. It does often happen that when a family acquires new and great wealth it is apt to cast out the furniture and the china it formerly used, in order to lay in a new stock at a fashionable shop. But it not infrequently happens, too, that as leisure brings refinement and artistic appreciation, the banished china is found to be precious Swansea ware, or the old armchair is Chippendale, and so the old possessions come into new honor. May it be so with the British tradition, as soon as the fever of industrialism and of its attendant wars has subsided.